

The Emancipator

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . therefore is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

VOLUME I. NO. 24. NEW SERIES.

CINCINNATI, TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 1838.

WHOLE NO. 123.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
N. W. corner of Main & Sixth streets,
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

JAMES BOYLE, Publishing Agent.

TERMS.—Two Dollars and fifty cents in advance.
Three Dollars if not paid till the expiration of the year. Letters
on business should be directed to the Publishing Agent,
those relating to the editorial department, to the Editor,
in all cases post paid.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Emancipator.

CORRESPONDENCE

Between the Hon. F. H. ELKINS, one of the South Carolina
delegation in Congress, and JAMES G. BARNET, one
of the Corresponding Secretaries of the American Anti-
Slavery Society.

[Continued from last week.]

"13. Are your hopes and expectations of success in-
creased or lessened by the events of the last year, and espe-
cially by the action of this Congress? And will your expec-
tations be relaxed or increased?"

ANSWER.—The events of the last year—including the
action of the present Congress—are of the same character
with the events of the last year, and they may be regarded
as a whole. In the question before us, they may be regarded
as a whole. I would say—answering your interrogatory
generally—that, none of them, however unpropitious to the
cause of the abolitionists they may appear, to those who look
at the subject from an opposite point to the one they occupy,
seem, thus far, in any degree, to have lessened their hopes
and expectations. The events alluded to have not come al-
together unexpected. They are regarded as the legitimate
manifestations of slavery, necessary, perhaps, in the present
dull and unpropitious state of the public mind as to hu-
man rights to be brought out and spread before the people,
before they will sufficiently revolt against slavery itself.

1. They are seen in the Congress and in the practice of its
members. The Southern portion of the American
Church may now be regarded, as having admitted the dog-
ma, that Slavery is a Divine institution. She has been
forced by the Anti-Slavery discussion into this position—
either to cease from slaveholding, or formally to adopt the
only alternative, that she should do right. She has chosen
the latter—reluctantly to be sure, but substantially, and
within the last year, almost unequivocally. In defending
what was dear to her, she has been forced to cast away
her garments—and thus to reveal a deformity of which she
herself, before, was scarcely conscious, and the existence of
which others did not credit. So much for the Southern
Church as a body. On the part of her members, the
revelation of a time-serving spirit that not only yielded to
the force of the multitude, but fell in with it, may be re-
garded among the events of the last three years. Instances of
this may be found in the attendance of the "Clergy of all de-
nominations" at a tumultuous meeting of the citizens of
Charleston, S. C., in 1835, for the purpose of
relating to the slaveholding churches, and the control
of the post-office and mail; and in the slavery with which
they obeyed the popular call to dissolve the Sunday-schools
for the instruction of the colored people. Also, in the fact,
that, throughout the whole South, church members are not
found in the Vigilance Committees, (tribunals organized
in opposition to the laws of the states where they exist)
but uniting with the mercenary and the profligate in passing
sentence in consigning to infamous and execrable, if not
extreme, punishment, persons by their own acknowl-
edgment, of unlawful acts. Out of sixty persons, who
composed the Vigilance Committee which condemned
Mr. Dresser, to be scourged in the public square of Nash-
ville, TWENTY-SEVEN were members of churches, and one
of them a professed teacher of Christianity. A member of
the committee stated afterward, in a newspaper of which he
was the editor, that he was "sorry to see the committee
any punishment known to the laws." Another instance is
to be found in the conduct of the Rev. W. S. Plumer, of
Virginia. Having been absent from Richmond, when the
members of the gospel assembly together, formally to test-
ify their abhorrence of the abolitionists, he was elected
Chairman of the Convention. In the correspondence a note, in
which he uses this language—"If abolitionists will set
the country in a blaze it is but fair that they should have the
first warning of the fire." Mr. P. has no doubt standing in
the Presbyterian Church to which he is attached—he has
been regarded as one of its brightest ornaments. To drive
the slaveholding church and its members from the equal
neutral position, in which they had so long success-
fully defended slavery; to compel them to elevate their practice
to an even height with their avowed principles, or to de-
grade their principles down to the level of their practice,
was a preliminary necessary to the view of the aboli-
tionists, either for bringing that part of the church into
the common action against slavery, or as a ground, for treating
it as a confederate with oppressors. So far, then, as the action
of the church, or of its individual members, is to be reckoned
among the events of the last three years, the abolitionists
find in it nothing to lessen their hopes or expectations.

2. The abolitionists believed from the beginning, that the
slaves of the South were, as slaves, every where, unhappy
because of their condition. Their adversaries denied it,
saying that as a class, they were contented and happy. The
abolitionists thought that the argument against slavery
—could be made good, so far as this point was concerned, by
either admitting or denying the assertion. Admitting it,
they insisted that nothing could demonstrate the turpitude of
any system more surely than the fact, that MAX—made in the
language of God, and made in the image of God, and made
in the crown of glory and honor, and made in the image of
God's hands—his mind sweeping in an instant from planet
to planet, from the sun of one system to the sun of another,
even to the great centre of them all—contemplating the
vast machinery of the universe, "wheeled unshaken" in the
awful immensity—"with a spirit descending" upon nations
—bouncing from heaven to earth—that sets its feet upon
the throne of God, to drink in the instructions of Infinite
Wisdom, or to give to the commands of Infinite
Goodness,—that such a being could be made "contented and
happy" with "renouncing to eat, drink, and wear;" and
submit from the weaker—wants the better view of the aboli-
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appliances of his bounty—that God's throne is a nullity,
himself a superfluity. But independently of any abstract
reasoning drawn from the nature of moral and intelligent be-
ings—Facts have been elicited in the discussion of the
point before us, proving slavery every where (especially
southern slavery, maintained by enlightened Protestants of
the nineteenth century) repulsive with torments and horrors,
the direct form of oppression that upstages itself before the
sun. These facts have been so successfully impressed on a
large portion of the intelligent mind of the country, that the
slaves of the South are beginning to be considered as those
whom God emphatically regards as the "poor," the "needy," the
"afflicted," the "oppressed," the "down-trodden,"—and
for whose consolation he has said, "Now will I arise—
I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." This
state of the public mind has been brought about within the
last two or three years, and it is an event which so far from
lessening, greatly animates the hopes and expectations of
abolitionists.

3. The abolitionists believed from the first, that the ten-
dency of slavery is to produce on the part of the white
possessors of morals, disdain of the wholesome restraints of
law, and a ferocity of temper found, only in solitary instances
in those countries where slavery is unknown. They were
not ignorant of the fact, that this was disputed—not
the "On the contrary," but the "On the contrary," had become a
phrase, including all that is high-minded and honorable
among men; not that it had been formerly asserted in our
national legislature, that slavery as it exists in the South
"produces the highest-toned, the purest, the best organization
of society that has ever existed on the face of the earth."

Nor were the abolitionists unaware, that these pretensions
proving any thing else than their own solidity, had been
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American States. Indeed it is almost certain, if the African
slave-trade had been left unrestrained, that slavery would
not have covered so large a portion of our country as it does
now. The cheap rate at which slaves might have been im-
ported by the planters of the South, would have prevented
the rearing of them for sale, by the farmers of Maryland, Vir-
ginia, and the other slave-holding states. If these states should
be deprived of the profits of Commerce in slaves, slavery
could not be supported by them for any length of time, or
to any considerable extent; they could not maintain it as an
economical system under the competition of free labor. It is
owing to the *non-interference* by Congress, or rather to their un-
faithful application of this power to the other points, on which
it was expected to act for the limitation or extermination of
slavery, that the hopes of our fathers have not been realized,
and that slavery has, at length, become so audacious, as
openly to challenge the principles of 1776—to trample on the
most precious rights secured to the citizen—to menace the
integrity of the Union, and the very existence of the
government itself.

Slavery has advanced to its present position by steps that
were, at first, gradual, and for a long time, almost unnoticed;
afterward, it made its way by intimidation or corrupting those
who ought to have been forward to resist its pretensions. Up
to the time of the "Missouri Compromise," by which the
nation was wheeled out of its honor, slavery was looked on
as an evil that was finally to yield to the expanding and
righting influences of our constitutional principles and regu-
lations. Why it has not yielded, we may easily see by
even a slight glance at some of the incidents of its history.

It has already been said, that we have been brought into
our present condition by the unfaithfulness of Congress, in
not exerting the power vested in it, to stop the domestic
slave-trade, and in the abuse of the power of admitting
"new States" into the Union. Kentucky made application
in 1792, with a slaveholding Constitution in her hand—
With what a mere technicality Congress suffered itself to be
dragged into it—"She was part of one of the 'Original
States'—and therefore entitled to all her privileges."
One precedent established, it was easy to make another.
Tennessee was admitted in 1796, without scruple, on the
same ground. The next triumph of slavery was in 1803, in
the purchase of Louisiana, acknowledged afterward, even by
Mr. Jefferson who made it, to be unauthorized by the
Constitution—and in the establishment of slavery throughout
the whole territory, actually and substantially under the aus-
pices of that instrument which declared its only object to be—"to
form a more perfect Union, establish JUSTICE, insure DOMES-
TIC TRANQUILITY, provide for the common defence, pro-
mote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of LIBER-
TY to ourselves and our posterity." In this case, the viola-
tion of the Constitution was sufficient to pass with the
people. Up to this point, the government was not
disposed to receive in exchange, multiplied common benefits
and enlarged territorial limits.

The next stride that slavery made over the Constitution
was in the admission of the State of Louisiana into the
Union. She could claim no favor as part of an "Original
State." Up to this point, the government was not
disposed to receive in exchange, multiplied common benefits
and enlarged territorial limits.

Next followed in 1817 and 1820, Mississippi and Alabama
—limited after the example of Kentucky and Tennessee,
without any contest. Meantime, Florida had given some un-
easiness to the slaveholders of the neighboring states; and
for their accommodation chiefly, a negotiation was set on
foot by the government to purchase it.

Missouri was next in order in the list of slave States.
She could plead no precedent in the case of being part of one of the
original states; the country too, was relieved from the pressure of
her conflict with England; it was prosperous and quiet, every
thing seemed propitious to a calm and dispassionate con-
sideration of the claims of slaveholders to add props to their
system, by admitting indefinitely, not to decide in favor of
the Union. Up to this point, the government was not
disposed to receive in exchange, multiplied common benefits
and enlarged territorial limits.

Immediately after this achievement, the slaveholding in-
terest was still more strongly fortified by the acquisition of
Florida, and the establishment of slavery there, as it was
readily seen, in the territory of Louisiana. The Missouri
triumph, however, seems to have extinguished every thing
like a systematic or spirited opposition, on the part of the
free states, to the pretensions of the slaveholding South.

Arkansas was admitted but the other day, with nothing, that
deserves to be mentioned, as an effort to prevent slavery from
extending into the territory. This policy of acquiescence
plunge still deeper into the hands of the slaveholders, the
dripping sword over her prostrate and vanquished enemy.
She had won all for which she fought. Her victory was
complete—THE SANCTION OF THE NATION WAS GIVEN TO
SLAVERY!!

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the master. Emboldened, but not satisfied, with their suc-
cess in every political contest with the people of the free
states, the slaveholders are beginning now to throw off their
disguise—to brand their former notions about the "evil, po-
litical and moral" of slavery as "folly and delusion"—and
as if to "make assurance doubly sure," and defend them-
selves forever, by territorial power, against the progress of
free principles—the movement of the constitution, they
now demand openly—according to conceal that their object
is, to advance and establish their political power in the
country—that Texas, a foreign state, five or six times as
large as all New England, with a constitution dyed as
deep in slavery as that of Arkansas, shall be added to the
Union.

The abolitionists feel a deep regard for the integrity and
union of the government, on the principles of the constitution.
Therefore it is, that they look with earnest concern
on the attempt now making by the South, to do what, in
the view of multitudes of our citizens, would amount to
good cause for the separation of the free from the slave
states. They are coming with many feelings of despair.
The alarm they sounded on the "Annexation" question
has penetrated the free states; it will, in all probability,
be favorably responded to by every one of them; thus
giving encouragement to our faith, that the admission
of Texas will be successfully resisted—that this additional
stride toward the movement of the constitution, they
will not be allowed to make.

This present condition of the country, induced by a
long train of usurpations on the part of the South, or by un-
wary concessions to it by the North, may justly be re-
garded as one of the events of the last few years affecting
in some way the cause of the abolitionists. It has cer-
tainly done so. And while it is not to be denied, that many
abolitionists feel painful apprehensions for the result, it has
only roused them up to make more effectual efforts for
the preservation of the country.

It may be replied—if the abolitionists are such firm
friends of the Union, why do they persist in what must be
in its rupture and dissolution? The abolitionists, let it be
repeated, are friends of the Union that was intended by the
constitution; but not of a Union from which is evicted and
trampled under foot, the right to speak, to print, to peti-
tion, the rights of conscience; not of a Union whose ligaments
are whips, where the interest of the oppressor is the
great object, and the rights of the oppressed are to be
sacrificed to the interest of the oppressor. The Union as it
exists is against the rights of the oppressed. Our fathers
left us into one bound with despotic bands that the aboli-
tionists are contending. In the political aspect of the ques-
tion, they have nothing to ask except what the constitution
authorizes, no change to desire, but that the constitution
may be restored to its pristine republican purity.

But they have well considered the "dissolution of the
Union." There is no just ground for apprehending, that
such a measure will ever be resorted to by the South. It is
by no means intended by this, to affirm, that the South, like
a spoiled child, for the first time denied some favorite object,
would not, in the end, be brought to its senses. It is intended
to show, that the South, in its present position, is in a
position to do what it will, and that the North, in its present
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COMMUNICATIONS.

Extract—Peace.

From a discourse on the subject of Peace delivered in the chapel of Lane Theological Seminary March 1838 by J. Blanchard.

I. PEACE, like pure joy or perfect health, is a state of unconsciousness. As we know not our health till it is broken. Like a well fitted garment, it is so easy and so close, that we do not know when we are in it, but we suffer immediately when it is torn or taken away. It implies exemption from inquietude rather than possession of delights and its principles, like all the passive virtues, are hard to practice and difficult to praise. There is nothing in them which seizes on the fancy, enraptures the imagination, overwhelms the mind and leads captive the whole man.

War, shaking his bloody trident, at whose vibrations the guilty nations and proud monarchs tremble in their stony holds—Mars stooping from Heaven to bind up the heart that is broken with her soft hand, and soothing the sorrows of the wretched with sweet face full of smiles and her sweet voice full of love—Justice, with calm eye weighing all human actions in his balances, condemning the guilty rather than the innocent may not suffer, and giving one over to punishment than ten thousand may be safe—all these may be bodied forth in qualities so substantial that the eye may almost detect the hand may almost feel them.

But it is not so easy to personify Peace. She seems enthroned in vacuum, and robed in simple white. Her commands all begin with "thou shalt not." Her constitution is a cluster of negatives. Her policy, a system of neutrality, her sceptre a simple olive-branch, and her diadem a crown of thorns!

All things in her realm are stamped with the qualities of her prince. Her glorious achievements stand in calamities never suffered; and in the story of troubles never felt. Her music is the voice of silence; and every motion throughout her domain is easy as the gentle undulations on the breast of innocence asleep. The features of her landscape are neither bold nor irregular nor wild nor fantastic. There is neither ravine, cliff, promontory, precipice, cataract, wind, storm, lightning, nor earthquake. There is neither the scream of the eagle nor the shriek of the vulture. The dove is undisturbed in her groves, and the lamb feeds quietly in her meadows and the all-pervading spirit of the place so penetrates and harmonizes all things above, around, and beneath, that each individual though perfect in its functions and in its sphere, so sympathizes with every other that all seem but parts of one symmetrical whole whose connection is so perfect, that the throb of an insect's heart is felt and answered from the remotest star!

POLITICAL ACTION.

The following article was prepared, as will be seen, at the request of the Executive Committee. It was submitted, during our late Convention, to the Committee on Political Action. They thought it an able report, and in the main, correct in its views. Nevertheless, there were several parts of it which, they supposed, would encounter much opposition in the Convention, and occasion so much discussion as to prevent the transaction of a great deal of other important business. It was concluded, therefore, to submit to the meeting a series of such resolutions as would be likely to secure a prompt and unanimous vote; and to hand over the following report to the Editor of the Philanthropist to be published on his own responsibility.

The report we most cheerfully publish, although there are a few positions in it to which we would except. It contains a great amount of truth, and is written with a vigorous pen. No one can read it without being pleased and profited by it.—Ed. Phil.

REPORT.

As the political action of every citizen, must bear either in favor of or against one of the organized political parties of the day, it becomes proper to examine the nature of a political party, in order that conscientious men may know whether it is right or not, to uphold any such organization. This examination is the more necessary, as every man is a politician, and nearly every man a partisan, inasmuch, that whatever may be one's notions of right in the abstract, his conduct is liable to be greatly modified by his partisan views and feelings. Thus, the religion, ethics, and literature of the nation, are more or less tainted with the views of political expediency.

A political party is a body of men organized under a specific name, for the purpose of obtaining from the citizens, the power to make and administer the laws.

A party then, compared with the people, is a small body, composed of those who are struggling to hold on to, or to get, the offices and emoluments of government. There are the ends of every political party. Its professions of attachment to the liberties of the people, its pretended love of justice and humanity, are not essential attributes of party; they are mere instruments, by which it operates on the ignorance, credulity, cupidity and prejudices of the people, in order to accomplish the end of its existence, the possession of political power. A party, therefore, can never be devoted to Justice, Truth, and Benevolence, as the object of its organization; and whatever may be its professed devotion to these, it must in the nature of things be merely a means to a selfish and corrupt end. Should it be urged that a party may desire political power as a means of advancing the true interests of the people, it may be unanswerably replied, that the honors and emoluments of office, are motives of such resistless force, as to sway the entire energies of the human soul, and bear the most despotic rule over minds where benevolence has no lodgment. There always will be men who hunger and thirst after power and wealth, for their own sake alone; and such men will constitute the political party, while the pious and benevolent will be left to toil for the weal of their race, without the aid of such dangerous auxiliaries as wealth and power. Besides, if a party sought power only as an instrument of good, it would labor in the cause of humanity, to the extent of its means, without the possession of political power. But what party in all its boundless devotion to the interests of the "dear people," ever risked a single ballot in reforming the morals of the people, though such a reform would be of more value, than all the benefits pretended to be conferred on them, by all the demagogues of the time? What party has not devoted its best energies to stop the tide of reform, when there was hope of increased popularity by the base performance?

If the lands, and homes of the poor Indian are to be taken, and he driven from his country and the graves of his fathers, to gratify the wolfish rapacity of a state, or section of country, what party has not sold itself to do the guilty deed? If a low and despicable prejudice against the colored race demand that they be removed from the land of their birth,—from the light of civilization, and a knowledge of the way of salvation by a crucified Redeemer, to a land of ignorance and superstition; a land of pestilence and death, what party has not been engaged to suppress the liberty of speech and of the press, and by murdering the advocates of universal liberty, where is the political party on

whose skirts the blood of the victim is not sprinkled? What party has ever stood forth to plead the cause of the poor and the oppressed, or has risked its popularity in defence of those who had no political power to give in return? Alas! this is not the sphere of party; to vindicate the rights of the oppressed, the outcast, and the wretched, more appropriately belongs to the (so called) fanatic, and the madman. Finally, where is the party which is not the pander to the lowest vices, the most grovelling prejudices, and the grossest ignorance of the people? To win the people for itself, and to impair their confidence in the hated rival, is the daily employment of every party. In the sweat of this labor, it eases its daily bread. This is the warfare of its pilgrimage, and the weapons of this warfare are slander and denunciation. These are the party sword and battle-axe, and the most expert in the use of these are the demi-gods of party.

If this be a true likeness of our organized parties (and who can gainsay it), how ought we as abolitionists, to pray to be delivered from the "body of this death."

These are our views of the organized political parties of our country at this time, and the important inquiry comes up, How ought abolitionists to act as citizens, and friends to universal liberty, in view of such unquestioned facts.

There are but three courses for us to pursue.—To adhere to the present parties, according to our individual preferences,—to organize ourselves into a distinct party; or to withdraw from all party attachments, and to give our suffrages only to such friends of human rights, as we may discover from their willingness to disclose to us their political creed.

We see no good to result from an adherence to the parties of the day.—By so doing, we hold no motive for their reformation, we but constitute another ingredient in the heterogeneous mass of party corruption. Partisans care nothing for the private and speculative views of those who confer on them political power. A subject of the autocrat of Russia, or a slave of the Sultan is, equally with the enlightened citizen, embraced in the folds of their ample charity. But more, our abolitionism is a vain thing, a rank weed of hypocrisy, if it demands no guarantees for our own liberty, and no regard for the sufferings of the fettered slave.

This breaking up of party connections, will, no doubt, be to many "as the giving up of the Ghost," but reason and Revelation teach us, that it is better to do righteousness, however painful the effort, than to "enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." And, let every abolitionist remember, that to trample on the right of petition, and to set at naught the liberty of speech and the press, is treason against American liberty,—whether the deed be done by a Webster, a Clay, a Van Buren, or a Harrison;—and whether it be done by open attack, or by basely shrinking from their defence in the hour of peril: let him remember that the anguish of the stricken captive is not less, because his fetters are riveted by the open violence of one, or the crafty Jesuitism of another of these candidates for popular favor.

But shall we organize ourselves into a political party? If the views of party taken above, be correct, then no considerations of policy or expediency, should for one moment, bias the abolitionist towards its adoption. It should be rejected at once and forever, as the perversion of all moral principle and the destruction of all that is pure and excellent in our glorious enterprise. The only result we could rationally anticipate would be, that broken-down, disappointed politicians, and cast-off demagogues throughout the land, would, at once be transformed into the most boisterous advocates of liberty. The hopes of obtaining political distinction by this new and untried experiment, would bring to our ranks men, whose soulless rap for freedom would be the most biting sarcasm upon our principles, as it is now upon the canting professions of the boasted democracy of this guilty nation. Our noble enterprise would be advocated on mere party grounds; the falsehood, violence, and sycophancy of party would be substituted for reason, truth, and Christianity. The confidence of the people in the honesty of our professions would be justly annihilated at a blow; and the virtuous and disinterested of our friends would shrink from us as from a moral pestilence. Thus would vanish the only rational effort at emancipation, in the fumes and poisoned vapors of political effervescence.

The worst passions of the slaveholder would be excited to terrible activity, by the reckless measures which mere partisans would adopt, and the agitation of the question might prove to be matter of serious concernment to the peace of the country. Let the unprincipled demagogues of a political faction become the advocates of liberty in the face of slavery itself, and where is the guarantee that the slaves might not be encouraged to take their emancipation into their own hands, and thus the bug-bear of insurrection become a terror of frightful reality.

Abolitionists ought not, therefore, to desire, as an instrument of emancipation, a power which tempts to the uttermost the worst propensities of a corrupted nature.—And, what is conclusive on this subject, is, that emancipation must be effected by the blessing of God on human effort; and He has never worked any great and glorious reform by the instrumentality of potentates and nobles. Abolitionists, who aspire to political power as an instrument of reform, "know not what spirit they are of." If then, we are not to adhere to our present party preferences, and are not to organize a distinct party, then there remains for us but one course, and that is to withdraw from all party ties, and to sustain no man for president of the United States, or for governor of the State, or for Congress, or to the General Assembly, who is not willing to pledge himself in practice, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

The justice and wisdom of this course, are obvious. A party is supremely selfish, and consequently cowardly; it will risk nothing because it dare not. A band of men therefore, like the abolitionists, attached to no party, pledged to no candidate, will hold the balance of power between the contending factions. Neither of them will dare slight our views. They may affect to hate us; but they are supremely selfish, and their hatred of abolitionism will be swallowed up in their thirst for power. Neither party will dare bring out candidates for office obnoxious to the abolitionists, for fear of their hated rivals. Thus shall we make sure of candidates for office really friendly to universal liberty. We shall, in some measure even reform corrupted politicians themselves, and thus do the country incalculable service.

There is another course which abolitionists may follow; and that is, to take no part in elections; but this would be burying their talent in the earth, and surely no friend of the suffering, bleeding slave, will dare answer such a charge to his God, or his conscience.

Will abolitionists take the only rational or just course, that of interrogating candidates for office? What to us is the elevation of any man to office, who as liberty and justice have gained friends and advocates? What have we to do with men, high in favor and power, only as the instruments of emancipating the poor, down-trodden, degraded slave, of this land of liberty? Away then, with man-worship from the hearts of abolitionists. Though a man may be right on the tariff, the currency, or on any and every point of mere political expediency, yet if he be wrong on the great question of human liberty, he is unworthy of confidence in any thing. Such a man has no principle, no God behind him. Some may indulge the fond hope that our great men—our Websters, Clays, Van Burens, and Harrisons, when they un-

derstand our principles, will coincide and act with us. But how long must the friends of the slave, indulge great men in their ignorance of the clear principles of human duty? Are great men privileged to be ignorant of mere elementary truths? Is their ignorance of the truth that the swarthy African is a man, and as such entitled to the same protection of just and humane laws, as their noble selves, to be winked at because they are great men? But if these men know these truths, and knowing still disregard them, will their greatness sanctify their iniquity in the eyes of abolitionists? But if they do not know these truths, in what respect are they great men, but in the greatness of their stupidity? The truth is, our great men have been surfeited with the sweet-cake and plumb-pudding of government-patronage, until they have become spoiled children; and in every instance where they have undertaken to deal with the intractable subject of abolitionism, they have manifested the pouty petulance of an over-grown baby, spoiled by indulgence.

Brethren in the glorious cause of human rights, the liberties of mankind have been offered by hecatombs, to gorge the rapacity of great men. Let the abolitionists of the United States show to the world that American liberty is not deposited for safe keeping in the hands of our great men, but that it burns unquenchable fire in the hearts of an intelligent, a virtuous and an independent people.

In conclusion, your Committee would offer the following resolution.

Resolved, That as abolitionists, we will not organize ourselves into a political party, nor will we give countenance to any such organization, let it come from what quarter it may, nor will we lend ourselves to subvert the designs of any organized political party, but that we will withhold our suffrages from any candidate for office known to be inimical to the immediate abolition of slavery, by those having constitutional power so to do, and will give our suffrages to none but such men as have the independence to answer such questions as our friends may put to them touching their views on the subject of American Slavery.

Let it be understood, we repeat, that for this report and this resolution, no one is responsible but the individual author of them.—Ed. Phil.

The Ladies in attendance at our anniversary belonging to anti-slavery societies, held a separate meeting, at which the following proceedings took place.—Ed. Phil.

Proceedings of the Convention of Women held in connection with the annual meeting of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, convened at the Conference room of the Presbyterian Church at Granville May 31st, 1838.

Meeting was opened with prayer by Sarah Dugdale. Proceeded to organize by calling Elizabeth Borton to preside. Clarissa Wright and Susan E. Wattles were appointed Secretaries of the Convention.

The object and design of the meeting were stated in a short address by the President, after which the following resolution was presented and some interesting and appropriate remarks made in support of it by Augustus Wattles.

Resolved, That while we view with pleasure the efforts made by colored people for the support of their own schools, the magnitude and importance of the work require that our exertions in their behalf should be increased rather than diminished. The resolution passed unanimously.—The two following resolutions were then adopted.

Resolved, That we recommend to the Female societies of each county that they select some particular school, and pledge themselves to procure and support a teacher the coming year, and that their Secretary send in a report at the next annual Convention.

Resolved, That the form of petition circulated last year be again circulated, and that the Secretary of each County Society, or of town societies, where there is no county organization, be instructed to forward the names from their vicinity to some member of Congress.

The Executive Committee of the Cincinnati Women's Anti-Slavery Society were appointed to act as a central committee. Mrs. Susan E. Wattles was appointed Secretary and Mrs. Emily Robinson Treasurer. Adjourned to meet at one o'clock P. M.

Met according to adjournment.

The Treasurer's Report was read and accepted. This report shows that there has been expended during the year to aid in building school houses, supporting teachers, circulating petitions and in a small donation to the A. A. S. Society \$322.26, to aid in building school houses in colored settlements.

On Cabin creek Indiana,	\$50
Richmond Indiana,	10
Mercer County,	30
Paid to teachers in Cincinnati,	86
" " Mt. Pleasant,	10
" " Beach Creek,	8,26
" " Dayton,	7
" " Ross County,	12
" " Shelby county,	25
Tuition of a colored girl at Oberlin,	5
Correspondence and preparing and circulating petitions,	30
To the American Anti-Slavery Society	49
	\$322.26

The following resolutions were then offered by Ruth Dugdale and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the proceeds of slave labor are the wages of unrighteousness, and that abolitionists are bound by christian principle to refrain as far as practicable from participation therein giving a decided preference to free labor goods.

Resolved, That as mothers, wives and sisters, we are incited by the benign precepts of the gospel to use our influence by precept, and still more powerfully by example, to eradicate the unholy and cruel prejudice against our colored brethren and sisters which exists so generally, and is calculated to chill and suppress every noble feeling of the soul.

Resolution by Mrs. Safford.

Resolved, That societies in the different counties send in a report respecting the condition of the colored people in their respective neighborhoods.

Resolved, That the above proceedings be printed in the Philanthropist.

ELIZABETH BORTON, President.

CLARISSA WRIGHT AND SUSAN E. WATTLES } Secretaries.

REV. MR. ELLIOT, OF ST. LOUIS.

MR. EDITOR.—Among the publications with which you exchange, I see the "Western Messenger," and in the April number of it is an article, under the head of "The other Side," written by

Rev. William G. Elliot, of St. Louis. In that article it is deplorable to witness still another Rev. gentleman added to the list of those espousing the wrong side, and becoming the apologist of the Alton murderers, and the traducer of the exalted Lovejoy. Mr. E. of course begins with strenuous disclaiming to be the justifier of a "mob, like that of Alton;" and then immediately says, "that whatever we may think of that mob, the blame thereof rests as much upon Mr. Lovejoy and his friends, as upon the most violent of their opponents." Now I dare say Mr. E. really thinks he does not justify the mob, but it seems quite plain to me, that he must have a partiality for the mob side, or he would never have penned the above quoted passage. By what mode of reasoning can he make out his assertion that Lovejoy was as much to blame as his most violent opponents? The church, of which Mr. L. was a member, and a minister, found no fault with his course, or his character. The laws of the land of which he was a citizen, were in no way or manner transgressed or violated in any case, or surely his watchful enemies would have brought him before the tribunals of the church or the laws. Can this much be said of his opponents? Can it be said of them as of him, that they violated neither the laws of God, nor the laws of the land? They violated both. Is it not a shame then; is it not disgraceful, to say, that Lovejoy was as much to blame as the most violent of his opponents? Why would any one say so, whose sympathies were not with the mob, and the slaveholder, and against Lovejoy and the slave?

Mr. Elliot further goes on to say, "It should be understood that Mr. L. was a man by no means of a conciliatory character, but one who has always made enemies wherever he has been, by his harshness of feeling, and his unmeasured style of expressing himself. He never seemed satisfied except in the midst of contention." This I think is a groundless slander of departed excellence, and must have been sent forth under the most entire ignorance of the abundant refutation of such a character, that is to be found in the published speeches, the writings, and the private history of Lovejoy. Why might not Mr. Elliot, if it suited him, say the same of even the blessed Saviour of mankind? Was the Holy Jesus able to, or did he, conciliate the Scribes and Pharisees and Rulers, who, desirous to keep the people in ignorance and bondage, continually excited them to riots and mobs, and then cast the blame upon Jesus and his friends? Wherever he went, did not his presence call up enemies, by his undisguised hatred of iniquity, and his unequivocal style of denouncing hypocrisy, cruelty and sin? Did he ever cease to contend against those who upheld corruption and wickedness? Now if the divinely appointed Messenger and Son of God was cruelly mobbed and murdered for such a course, is it surprising that such of his followers as cannot be frightened from their duty, but when called, fearlessly follow the example of their Great Master, that they likewise should be murdered? And what end more glorious, than to persevere even unto death, in defence of the Truth. For my part I admire and venerate the noble Lovejoy more than can I express—and I pity those who are blinded to his excellence.

Next look at the accuracy of Mr. Elliott's statements,—he says, "I am well acquainted with the particulars of the affray, having conversed with the Mayor of Alton," &c.—and then tells us, "that the mob would have been dispersed without doing any material mischief, had not guns been fired from the building, by which a man was killed—not a gun had been fired by the mob, and very few of them were armed. Now, on the other side, the testimony given under oath, shows clearly and undisputedly, that not a gun was fired from the building, until it had been repeatedly fired into by the mob. How comes it that Mr. Elliott's intimate acquaintance with the particulars of the affray," and the evidence given before a legal tribunal differ, so point blank—and which must we credit? But enough of so humiliating a subject.

BOTH SIDES.

Cincinnati, 17th May, 1838.

DR. BAILEY, Dear Sir,—If you deem the following extracts of two letters, recently received from England, worthy of a place in your valuable paper, I shall be happy to see their insertion.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS EMERY.

"Your recollection of me will not, I imagine, induce you now to think that any representations you can hold out to me of your adopted country, would be such, as would lead me to desire the change; no,—however much I may desire to see America, I have no wish to make it my home. With much to admire, there is much to condemn; and yet in imagination I can foresee great changes; the foulest blot in her history is awakening her sons to effort.

"Some months ago, I read Major Abdy's book on America; it has been in general circulation here, and has aroused the feelings of, shall I say MEN, ay, and even the SLAVES OF MAMMON; but, I judge from the two Philanthropists recently received, that you are fully alive to your duty, and that 'as far as in you lie,' you will help on the good cause, and 'proclaim liberty to the captive.'"

"We are much obliged to you for so frequently sending us the Philanthropist: we read the shameful conduct of the mob towards Mr. Lovejoy, with the utmost indignation. His poor widow is indeed to be pitied. The poetry on his death is very touching and beautiful. What dreadful enmity the slaveholders manifest towards the abolitionists. There is, I fear, little reason to hope that slavery will be abolished in the boasted land of freedom, since the minds of the legislators are so totally opposed to it. Mr. S. D., who is now in Prussian Poland, read of the massacre of the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy in a German newspaper."

ROSS COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

Thursday, April 19, 1838.

The Ross County Anti-Slavery Society met at Concord Meeting-house, when the following resolutions were offered, and after being discussed, were unanimously adopted.

1st. By Elder Ezekiel Johnson of the Baptist Church. Resolved, that the peaceable abolition of slavery in these United States, is practicable, if not prevented by some sudden revolution in the nation.

2d. By Rev. Daniel Gilmore of the Presbyterian Church. Resolved, that in the opinion of this meeting, unless slavery be abolished by law, and constitutionally its continuance will overthrow our laws, violate and prostrate our constitution, and convert our government into a surly and silent despotism, equalled only in barbarity by that which now tramples on two and a half millions of human beings in the South.

3d. By Rev. Wm. Gage, of the Presbyterian Church. Resolved, that in the opinion of this Society, slavery is the great sin of the nation, and unless the horrid system be abolished, we have reason to believe that great and awful judgments will visit us in the shape of insurrections and blood.

4th. By Jno. E. Anderson. Resolved, that we view the question of the abolition of slavery in the United States, as the most important question which agitates the public mind; the question of Bank or no Bank, dwindles into insignificance before it.

5th. By Isaac N. Taylor. Resolved, that abolition is the cause of God—and as such it should be carried on, in the spirit of the gospel.

6th. By E. Johnson. Resolved, that we depre-

cate the idea of abolitionists forming a distinct political organization. Yet we deem it the duty of every abolitionist to exercise the right of suffrage, and to cast his votes for the man who will come out boldly in favor of the right of free discussion, right of petition, in all cases where men may feel aggrieved; the liberty of speech, and of the press—in their fullest constitutional extent.

7th. Resolved, the virtual dissolution of the Union has already taken place by the South, so far as it regards thousands of law abiding citizens of the free states—fording their coming to the South to seek their health, to collect their debts, visit their relations, or for any other purpose, only at the risk of their lives by mobocratic violence.

8. Resolved, that the "infamous" resolution, adopted by the present house of Representatives of the United States, (known as Patton's resolution) is an insult to the understanding of the citizens of these United States; being a virtual denial of the right of petition—and ought, therefore, to be immediately rescinded.

9th. Resolved, that in the opinion of this meeting, the annexation of Texas to this Union, is not agreeable to the Constitution of the United States, would be impolitic, and dangerous to the integrity of the Union.

10th. Resolved, that this Society will hold quarterly meetings at such places as the Executive Committee may fix upon.

11th. Resolved, that all the members who can make it convenient to attend the Annual Meeting of the State Society, be requested so to do, and that they be authorized to pledge this Society to pay the State Society, one hundred dollars, and as much more as can be collected.

Officers for the ensuing year.

JAMES S. CORNELL, Pres.
GEORGE BROWN, } Vice Pres.
MOSES LATTI,
ROBERT STEWART, Secy.
JOSEPH MORTON, Treasr.
FREDERICK HIER,
HUGH S. FULLERTON,
DANIEL GILMORE,
ROB. C. GALBRAITH,
JAMES M. JACKSON, } Managers.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI:

Tuesday Morning, June 19, 1838.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

We solicit the attention of our subscribers to the following resolutions, passed at the late anniversary at Granville.

"Resolved, That the Convention believes, that it is vitally important to the cause of abolition, in the West particularly, and throughout our country generally, that the Philanthropist be sustained; and that to this end, each member of this Convention will endeavor to procure at least one subscriber, and induce each family in his or her neighborhood to take at least one copy."

Let the pledge be faithfully fulfilled: let no time be lost.

"The mighty purpose never is overtook, Unless the deed go with it. From this moment, The firstlings of my heart shall be The firstlings of my hand."

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

PRESIDENT.

LEICESTER KING.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Alexander Campbell, } Brown County.

James Gilliland,

Asa Mahan, Oberlin.

Dr. Bancroft, Granville.

Reese E. Price, Hamilton County.

Francis Dunlevy, Warren County.

Wm. Keys, Highland County.

Robert Stewart, Ross County.

Samuel Crothers, Highland County.

Nathan Galbraith, Columbiana.

James Stewart, Fayette.

Dyer Burgess, Adams.

Abraham Baer, Starke.

Wm. R. Hudson, Geauga.

Samuel Denny, Pickaway.

Benj. Gass, Richland.

Orestes K. Hawley, Ashtabula.

J. Jolliffe, Clermont.

Levi Whipple, Muskingum.

J. S. Waugh, Butler.

John Walker, Harrison.

Daniel Miller, Seneca.

Gamaliel Bailey, Hamilton.

J. A. Foote, Cuyahoga.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

Augustus Hopkins.

TREASURER,

William Donaldson.

MANAGERS,

Harmon Kingsbury, Cuyahoga County.

Isaac Colby, Cincinnati.

J. J. Blanchard, Cincinnati.

J. C. Cloyer, Cincinnati.

Christian Donaldson, Cincinnati.

John Hunt, Athens County.

Lemuel Moffitt, Ashtabula.

Matthew Johnson, Belmont.

J. B. Mahan, Brown County.

Abraham Allen, Clinton.

Manassah Baer, Carroll.

James Hamilton, Columbiana.

H. S. Gillett, Hamilton.

Uri Seely, Geauga.

Robt. Hanna, Harrison.

Robt.

*Extract from an Address delivered before the Euphradian
Society of South Carolina College, by J A L Norman.
(Published by order of the Society.)*

[illegible]

"This is a simply plain plan gentlemen, but, it is one which cannot fail of educating the whole yeomanry of the south, for in a few years the example would be followed by every learned institution and charitable society in the whole southern country; and hundreds of young men would thus be educated for the teacher's chair; education and the country would flourish; southern education would flourish, and be extended to all classes of individuals, until which is the case, we cannot escape from mental and civil degradation.

"This subject, so little acted on, yet of such vital importance, the education of Southern youth, in Southern schools, by Southern men, deserves, generally, your highest consideration. The subject has been, and felt, and the correction made, in many instances. There are, however, some who are certain, and easy of accomplishment; educate Southern young men for Southern Schoolmasters, and our Southern youth will be Southern educated; imbued with Southern principles, and with a love of Southern institutions. Without this there can be no real love of Southern country. We will be held in the hands of those who have the intellect to control the force of her more enlightened neighbors.— Found Normal Schools, for educating of Schoolmasters, after the Normal system of France, and this awful calamity the degradation of your country, is avoided; this most desirable thing is achieved. The yeomanry, the whole young manhood is educated, and, and, and, and, and, and, and happy. Thus you fail to educate the yeomanry of the State. And you will suffer patriotism, degraded by ignorance, to keep over our country's ruins".

One paragraph in the extract will be better understood by a free translation.

The education of *slave-holding* youth, in *slave-holding* principles, by *slave-holding* men, is an object of vast importance. The evil of educating our sons 'where they are incessantly exposed 'to the corrupting influences of the doctrine of human rights as held by Thomas Jefferson and Reuben

is as certain and easy of accomplishment; educate slave-holding young men for slave-holding school-masters, and our slave-holding youth will be slave-holdingly educated; imbued with the principles of slavery, and with a love of slavery. Without this there can be no hope of resisting those influences, which are shaking the thrones of European despotisms, and have already melted off the chains from 800,000 slaves. Our lovely slave-holding South, held in vassalage, if not in bondage, by the intellectual and physical force of her liberal-

ty-loving, more enlightened neighbors, will become contaminated with a holy horror of slavery, so that this glorious institution, this pillar of our greatness, shall straightway tumble to the ground, like the temple of the Philistines, when the strong man stretched forth his arms and "bowed himself with all his might." It is manifest that the literature of the world and our slave-institutions cannot sympathize with each other. We must have a literature of our own, for the Philosophy and Poetry of the whole civilized world in modern times, think it a light matter to blaspheme the

name of that sacred institution, to the support of which we have pledged our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. We must have a *slaveholding* literature, a literature whose philosophy shall be able to trace that recalcitrant process by which the abolition of human rights tends to secure human rights; by which injustice to a fellow creature becomes the highest justice; by which taking away from a man his earnings, depriving him of his power of locomotion, and chaining his will, contribute to his greatest happiness; by which despoiling a human being of all his rights, alienating all his sympathies from the government, and oppressing him in all his relations, render him a peculiarly safe member of the community, and a steadfast friend to his superiors; to lay bare that wonderful process, by which the rapacious dealer in human souls and bodies has his sensibilities exalted

and polished; by which compelling men to work without wages tends to generate magnanimity and high-toned sentiments of justice and generosity; by which a reckless disregard of human rights operates in the production of a reverential regard for liberty and equality;—in a word, to prove to the world, that irresponsible power on the one hand, and implicit submission on the other, are the two great and fundamental elements of liberty, moral purity, social progress, and civilization.

To accomplish all this, we must have *slave-holding* normal schools for educating *slave-holding* school-masters. If a due supply cannot be manufactured at home, we must make our selection at the North, out of such Professors and Divines as have committed themselves to our cause, and shown themselves devoted friends to our glorious institutions.

In this way alone can we hope to secure our noble *slave-holding* institutions from decay and final ruin.

Emancipation of the South—Southern Commerce.
We have seen the plan suggested for emancipating the mind of the South. Let us now see the mode by which they would achieve commercial independence. The proceedings of the Convention of Southern merchants, our readers will remember, are visionary and wordy, calculated to do little more than prove, that while slavery destroys the spirit of enterprise in a community, and brings upon it poverty, idleness and a ruinous pride, it so stupefies and perverts the faculties of its sage devotees, that they fondly regard it as the living principle of good, one of the selectest gifts of God.

But here is a practical suggestion—a plan by which they imagine they will be able to free the South from abolition-influence and the oppressions of northern commerce.

"A correspondent of the Richmond Enquirer suggests the incorporation of a common bank, with a capital of 40 millions, by the Southern States. The following are the outlines of this project.

"HINTS ON A SOUTHERN BANK OF AMERICA.—To free the South from abolition influence, and the oppressions of northern commerce, let the legislators of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, pass a joint charter for a Southern Bank of America. The capital to be about forty millions, and di-

[Continued from first page.]
slavery," "thus far and no further." This is the best—the only—means of saving the South from the fruits of her own folly—folly that has been no long, and so strangely encouraged by the North, that it has grown into downright intolerable arrogance.
There are many other "events" of the last two or three years which have produced their influence on the course of the abolitionists—and which might properly be dwelt upon at considerable length, were it not that this communication is already greatly protracted beyond its intended limits. I shall, therefore, in mentioning the remaining topics, do little more than enumerate them.
The Legislature of Vermont has taken a decided stand in favor of Anti-Slavery principles and action. In the Autumn of 1836, the following resolutions were passed by an almost unanimous vote.
"Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, that neither Congress nor the State Governments have any Constitutional right to obstruct the free expressions of opinion, or the transmission of them through the medium of the public mails."
"Resolved, That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."
"Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."
At the session held in November last, the following joint resolutions, preceded by a decisive memorial against the admission of Texas, were passed by both branches—with the exception of the fifth which was passed only by the House of Representatives.
1. Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to use their influence in that body to prevent the annexation of Texas to the Union.
2. Resolved, That, representing as we do the people of Vermont, we do, thereby, in their name, solemnly protest against such annexation in any form.
3. Resolved, That as the Representatives of the people of Vermont, we do solemnly protest against the admission into the Union of any state whose constitution tolerates domestic slavery.
4. Resolved, That Congress have full power by the constitution, to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States.
5. Resolved, That Congress has the constitutional power to prohibit the slave trade between the several states of this Union, and to make such laws as shall effectually prohibit such trade.
6. Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to present the foregoing Report and Resolutions to their respective Houses in Congress, and use their influence to carry the same speedily into effect.
7. Resolved, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing report and Resolutions to the President of the United States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.
The influence of Anti-Slavery principles in Massachusetts has become decisive, if we are to judge from the change of sentiment in the Legislature. The General Assembly of that Commonwealth saw fit to introduce into its inaugural speech delivered in January 1836, a severe censure of the abolitionists, and to intimate that they were guilty of an offence punishable at common law. This part of the speech was referred to a joint committee of five, of which a member of the Senate was chairman. To the same committee were also referred communications which had been received by the Governor, from several of the Legislatures of the slaveholding states, requesting the Legislature of Massachusetts to enact laws, making it penal for citizens of that State to form societies for the abolition of slavery, or to speak or publish sentiments such as had been uttered at Anti-Slavery meetings and published in Anti-Slavery tracts and papers. The Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in a note addressed to the Chairman of the Committee, requested permission, as a party whose rights were drawn in question, to appear before it. This was granted. The gentlemen selected by them to appear on their behalf were of unimpeachable character and distinguished for professional merit and general literary and scientific intelligence. Such was not the unpopularity of abolitionism, that notwithstanding the personal influence of those gentlemen, they were ill—not to say rudely—treated, especially by the chairman of the Committee; so much so, that respect for themselves and the cause they had to defend, prompted them to desert before they had completed their remarks. A Report including resolutions unfavorable to the abolitionists was made, of which the following is a copy:
The Joint Special Committee, to whom was referred so much of the Governor's Message as related to the Abolition of Slavery, do hereby distinctly and unanimously recommend, that the Legislature of this Commonwealth, do not interfere in any way, or in the Citizens of this Commonwealth, to interfere in the institution of domestic slavery in the southern states, it having existed therein before the establishment of the constitution; it having been recognized by that instrument; and it being strictly within their own keeping.
Resolved, That this Legislature, regarding the agitation of the question of domestic slavery as having already interrupted the friendly relations which ought to exist between the several States of this Union; and as tending permanently to injure, if not altogether to subvert, the principles of the Union itself, and depriving them of the peaceful means by which the Union is to be maintained, do hereby express their disapprobation of the doctrine upon this subject avowed, and the general measures pursued by such agitators, and do hereby recommend, that they be not admitted to any further consideration, and that all such measures, as may tend to disturb, and irritate the public mind.
The Report was laid on the table—whence it was not taken up during the session—its friends being afraid of a lean majority on its passage—for the record had already been taken by the members who otherwise would have favored it. From this time, till the election in the succeeding autumn, the subject was much agitated in Massachusetts. The abolitionists again petitioned the Legislature at its session begun in January 1837—especially, that it should renege against the Resolution Mr. Haves, adopted by the House of Representatives, in relation to the memorial, &c., in relation to slavery was laid, and to be laid on the table, without further action on them. The abolitionists were again heard in behalf of their petitions before the proper Committee. The result was, the passage of the following resolutions with only 16 dissenting votes to 378 in the H. of Representatives, and in the Senate with not more than one or two dissentients on any one of them.
"Whereas, the House of Representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, proposals, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon; and whereas such a disposition of petitions, then or thereafter to be received, is a violation of the rights of the petitioners, and a denial of the right of petition, which is a standing rule in the present House of Representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this Commonwealth, praying for the removal of a great social, moral, and political evil, have been slighted and contemned; therefore,
"Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and is injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice, and natural rights, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them, and essential to the security of freedom in a state.
"Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this Commonwealth.
"Resolved, That Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possess the right to abolish slavery in said district, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good."
That you may judge for yourself what influence the abolition question exercised in the elections in Massachusetts, last autumn—I send you three numbers of the Liberator containing copies of letters addressed to many of the candidates, and their respective replies.
The Legislature have passed, unopposed, at its present session, resolutions (preceded by a report of great ability) protesting "earnestly and solemnly against the annexation of Texas to this Union"—and declaring that, "no act done, or compact made, for such purpose, by the government of the U. S. will be binding on the states, or the people."

Two years ago, Governor Marcy of this state showed himself well-willing, at the dictation of the South, in aid of passing laws for restraining and punishing the abolitionists, whenever the extremity of the case might call for it. Two weeks ago, at the request of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Albany, the Assembly, by a vote of the House (only two dissentients) was granted to Alvan Stewart, Esq., a distinguished lawyer, to lecture on the subject of abolition. Resolutions against the annexation of Texas have already been passed by many of the Free States. All the rest of them probably have passed similar resolutions before the close of the year.
Kentucky is assuming an attitude of great interest to the friends of liberty and the Constitution. The blessings of "freedom" are ready to perish throughout the land, the applause of the good throughout the world will be here; if she should show more energy enough to break every yoke that she has hitherto imposed on the "poor," and by which her own prosperity and true power have been hindered.
In view of the late action in the Senate and H. of Representatives in Congress—adverse as they may seem, to those who think more highly of the branches of the Legislature than of the course of the power—the abolitionists see nothing that is cause for discouragement. They find the people sound; they know that they still cherish, as their fathers did, the right of petition—the freedom of the press—the freedom of speech—the rights of conscience; that they love the liberty of the North more than they love the slavery of the South. What care they for Resolutions in the House or Resolutions in the Senate, when the House and the Senate are but their ministers, their servants, and they know that they can discharge them at their pleasure? It may be that Congress has yet to learn, that the people have but slight regard for their restraining resolutions. They ought to have known this from the history of such resolutions for at least two years. Thirty-seven states have petitioned for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and their petitions laid on the table by the resolution of the House of Representatives in May 1836. At the succeeding session, they had increased to ONE HUNDRED AND TEN THOUSAND. The resolution of Jan. 18, 1837, laid all their petitions in the same way on the table. At the called, and at the next session, they had multiplied to TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND. Now, Senators and Representatives will be sent from the free states who will need no petitions—they will know the prayer of their constituents before they leave their homes.
In concluding this, my answer to your 13th interrogatory, I will say that I know of no event that has transpired, either in or out of Congress, for the last two or three years, that has had any other influence on the exertions of abolitionists than to increase and stimulate them. Indeed every thing that has taken place within that period, ought to excite to their utmost efforts all who are not despairing standards. The Demon of oppression in this land is tenfold more fierce and rampant and relentless than he was supposed to be before roused from the quiet of his lair. To every thing that is precious the abolitionists have seen him lay claim. The religion of the Bible must be adulterated; the claims of Humanity must be smothered—the demands of Justice must be nullified; a part of our Race must be shut out from the common sympathies of the human nature. No this all; they have seen the rights of the poor, the people; the right to speak, to write, to publish, to assemble together, to petition their own servants, all brought in peril. They feel that the final conflict between Popular Liberty and Aristocratic Slavery has come; that one or the other must fall; and they have made up their minds, with the blessing of God on their efforts, that their adversary shall die.
"14. Have you any permanent funds, and how much?"
Answer.—We have none. The contributions are anticipated. We are always in debt, and always getting out of debt.
I have now, Sir, completed my answers to the questions proposed in your letter of the 16th ult. It gives me pleasure to have had such an auspicious opportunity of doing so. I cannot but hope for good to both the parties concerned, where candor and civility have characterized their representations.
The answer to your 13th question may seem to wander from the strict terms of the question propounded. Let it be set down to a desire on my part, to give you all the information I can at all germane to the inquiry. The "professors," made in note to Mr. Calhoun, was not "unqualified." Nor was it singular. The information I have furnished has been always accessible to our adversaries—even though the cause of Mr. Elmore and myself, the two above mentioned, and gentlemen terms, which have so strongly recommended yours to the most perfect consideration.
Of your very obedient Servant.
JAMES G. BIRNEY.
[In the Explanatory remarks placed at the beginning of this correspondence, reasons were given, that were deemed sufficient, for not publishing more of the letters that passed between Mr. Elmore and myself, the two above mentioned. Since they were in type I have received from Mr. E. a communication, in reply to one from me, informing him that I proposed limiting the publication to the two letters just mentioned. It is dated May 19. The following extract shows, that he entertains a different opinion from ours, and thinks that justice to him, and to the cause, requires that his letters should be included in the correspondence.
"The order you propose in the publication is proper enough; the omission of business and immaterial letters being perfectly proper, as they interest nobody. I had supposed my last letter would have formed an exception to the rule, and that it would be published. It is, however, not published. I have not written for publication. Allow me Sir, to say that it will be just to me, and to the cause, that it should be printed with the others. I only suggest this for your own consideration, and I adhere to my former opinion and decision—I ask nothing, and complain of nothing."
It is still thought that the publication of the letter alluded to is unnecessary to the purpose of enlightening the public as to the state, prospect, &c. of the Anti-Slavery cause. It contains no denial of facts, and no attack on any individual, and it is not an answer to the arguments contained in my communication. But as Mr. Elmore is personally interested in this matter, and as it is intended to maintain the consistency of liberty which has characterized the Executive Committee in all their intercourse with their opponents, the suggestion made by Mr. E. is cheerfully complied with. The following is a copy of the letter alluded to.—J. G. B.

"WASHINGTON, May 5, 1838.
"To James G. Birney, Esq.
"Sir.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, in which you again refer to the publication of the above letter, and in relation to the correspondence and designs of the abolitionists. I would have certainly answered yours of the 2d ult. on the same subject more fully, before this, but I have not had time to do so. My recollection, in consequence of having been more engaged than usual in the business before the House. I hope the delay has been productive of no inconvenience.
"If I correctly understand your letter above referred to, the object of these papers and the decision as to their publication have passed into the 'Executive Committee of the Am. Anti-Slavery Society'; and from their tenor, I infer, that their determination is so far made, that nothing I could object would prevent it, if I desired to do so. I was certainly not apprised, when I entered into this correspondence, that its disposition was to be decided on by any other will than your own;—but that matters nothing now,—you had the power, and I am not disposed to question the right or propriety of its exercise. I heard of you as a man of intelligence, sincerity, and truth,—who, although laboring in a bad cause, did it with ability, and from a mistaken conviction of its justice. As a member of the House of Representatives, and as a member of a committee raised by the Representatives of the slaveholding States, to ascertain the intentions and progress of your associations, I availed myself of the opportunity offered by your character and situation to propose to you inquiries as to facts, which would make those developments so important to be known by our people. My inquiries were framed to draw out full and authentic details of the organization, numbers, resources, and designs of the abolitionists, of the means they resorted to for the accomplishment of their ends, and the progress made, and making, in every, imposing any legal or moral restraint upon its exercise.
2. Resolved, That Congress ought to take measures for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.
3. Resolved, That the rights of justice, the claims of humanity, and the common good, alike demand the entire suppression of the slave trade now carried on in the District of Columbia.
4. Resolved, That Congress has, by the Constitution, power to abolish slavery in the territories of the United States.
5. Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.
Resolved relating to the slave trade between the states.
1. Resolved, That Congress be requested to use its power to abolish the traffic in slaves between different states of the Union.
2. Resolved, That the exercise of this power is demanded by the principles of humanity and justice.
3. Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.
Resolved relating to the admission of new states into the Union.
1. Resolved, That no state should hereafter be admitted as a member of the Union, whose constitution or government, shall permit the existence of domestic slavery.
2. Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor, be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.
The dangerous work, that all such information might be laid before the four millions and a half of white inhabitants in the slave States, whose lives and property are menaced and endangered by this ill-considered, mismanaged, and disorganizing philanthropy. They should be informed of the full length and breadth and depth of this storm which is gathering over their heads, before it breaks in its desolating fury. Christian and civilized, they are now industrious, prosperous and happy; but should your scheme of abolition prevail, it will bring upon them overwhelming ruin and misery untold. The two races cannot exist together upon terms of equality—the extinction of one or the ruin of the other would be inevitable. This humanity conceived in wrong and born in civil strife, would be baptized in a people's blood. It was, that our people might know, in time to guard against the mad onset, the full extent of this gigantic conspiracy and crusade upon their institutions; and of necessity upon their lives with which they must sustain them; and their fortunes and property, which exist only while those institutions exist, that I was induced to enter into a correspondence with you, who by your official station and intelligence were known to be well informed on these points, and from your well established character for candor and fairness, would give no statements of facts which were not known or believed by you to be true. To a great extent, my end has been accomplished by your replies to my inquiries. How far, or whether at all, your answers have run, beyond the facts engaged for, into theories, arguments, and dissertations, as erroneous as mischievous, is not a matter of present consideration. We differed no wider than I expected, but that difference has been exhibited courteously, and has not led to do with the question of publication. Your object, or rather the object of your Committee, is to publish, and I, having no reason to desire it, as you have put me in possession of the facts I wished, and no reason not to desire it, as there is nothing to conceal, will leave yourself and the Committee to take your own course, neither assenting nor dissenting, in what you may finally decide to do.
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"F. H. ELMORE."
[The letter of Mr. Elmore contains but little more than a reiteration of alarming cries on the part of the slaveholders; that they are as old as the earliest attempts of philanthropy to break the fetters of the colored man, and that have been repeated up to the present day, with a boldness that seems to increase, as instances of emancipation multiply to prove them groundless. Those who utter them seem, in their panic, not only to overlook the most obvious laws of the human mind, and the lights of experience, but to be almost unconscious of the great events connected with slavery, that are now passing around them in the world, and conspiring to bring about its early abrogation among all civilized and commercial nations.
However christian and civilized, industrious, prosperous and happy, the slaveholders of the South may be, this is not so said of the slave. A large religious denomination of the state in which Mr. Elmore resides, has deliberately pronounced them to be "heathens." Their "industry" is seen at the end of the lash—"prosperity" they have none, for they cannot possess any thing that is an element of prosperity—their "happiness" they prove by running away from their masters, whenever they think they can effect their escape. It is the condition of a large majority of the people in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
The "two races" exist in peace in Mexico,—in all the former South American dependencies of Spain, in Antigua, in the Bermudas, in Canada, in Massachusetts, in fine, in every country where they enjoy legal equality. It is the denial of this that produces discontent. Max will never be satisfied without the color of his skin, and I may be further, and ask him for a well authenticated instance, where an emancipated slave, singly has embraced his hands in his master's fold. The first record of such an act in modern times, is yet to be made.
Elmore, and the white inhabitants in the slave states should be informed of the full length and breadth and depth of this storm which is gathering over their heads, before it breaks in its desolating fury. In this sentiment there is not a reasonable man in the country, be he abolitionist or not, who will not coincide with him. We rejoice at the evidence we here have, in a gentleman of the influence and intelligence of Mr. E. of the returning sanity of the South. How wildly and mischievously has she been heretofore misled! Whilst the Governors of Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas, have been repelling efforts, made in respect to terms, of the fullest and most authentic accounts of our movements, and while Governor Calhoun of South Carolina has not only followed the example of his gubernatorial brethren just named, but is found corresponding with a miserable unknown writer in Massachusetts—bringing him a few dollars, the sum he demanded for his fraudulent promise to aid in thwarting the abolitionists,—while too Mr. Calhoun has been willing to pass laws to shut out from his constituents information that concerned them more nearly than all others—we now have it from the highest source, from one selected by a state delegation as its representative in a general committee of the whole slaveholding delegations, that the South ought to be "informed of the full length and breadth and depth" of the movement, and the influence and intelligence of Mr. E. of the returning sanity of the South. 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